

Message Text

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51

ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 AF-04 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SP-02

INR-05 L-01 CIAE-00 SAM-01 PM-03 DODE-00 PRS-01 EB-03

IGA-01 /055 W

----- 028237

R 291330Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6649

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRASILIA 8978

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, BR, XJ, PO

SUBJECT: POLICY PLANNING CONSULTATIONS: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA

REF: BRASILIA 8961

1. LEADING OFF (AS USDEL HAD SUGGESTED) ON PORTUGAL AND AFRICA, BRAZILIANS (HOLANDA CAVALCANTI, FOREIGN MINISTER'S SUB-CHIEF OF CABINET) REVIEWED LONG HISTORY OF UNIQUE BRAZILIAN-PORTUGUESE RELATIONSHIP, AND SAID THAT SINCE APRIL 25, PORTUGAL HAS MADE IT A MAIN POINT TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL, CITING THE VISIT HERE OF GENERAL GALVAO DE MELLO AND MARIO SOARES' INVITATION TO SILVEIRA TO VISIT PORTUGAL. HE ADDED THAT THERE IS A DEBATE GOING ON IN PORTUGAL AMONG WHAT WERE IDENTIFIED AS "BRAZILIANISTS", "EUROPEANISTS", AND "ECLECTICS" OVER THE COURSE OF PORTUGAL'S FOREIGN-AFFAIRS FUTURE. ON THE GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION, HE SAID NO ONE KNOWS WHO IS IN CONTROL OR WHAT WILL HAPPEN. IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED THAT IF ELECTIONS ARE HELD, THE SOCIALISTS WILL OUTPOLL THE OTHER PARTIES, BUT HE ADDED THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE COMMUNISTS STRENGTH. THE RIGHT, HE SAID, STILL
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HAS SOME INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE WITHIN IT, BUT THEY

ARE DIVIDED, AND SOME ARE RELUCTANT TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES. (HE ALSO SAID MARIO SOARES HAD TOLD THEM THAT POLLS HAD REVEALED THAT IN THE EVENT OF ELECTIONS, THE SOCIALISTS WOULD OBTAIN 23-25 PERCENT OF THE VOTE AND THE COMMUNISTS 15-18 PERCENT, WITH THE REST SCATTERED AMONG THE OTHER PARTIES. IN LATER DISCUSSION WITH USDEL AND EMBOFFS, HOWEVER, HE STRESSED THAT THEY DID NOT NECESSARILY CONSIDER THESE FIGURES WELL FOUNDED.) HOLANDA CAVALCANTI SAID THE MOVEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES WAS EXPECTED TO HAVE INCREASING PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNING OF PORTUGAL, WHICH COULD LEAD TO SOMETHING REMINISCENT OF THE PERUVIAN EXPERIENCE. HE CALLED A RIGHTIST COUP UNLIKELY, NOTING THAT THE RIGHT IS NEITHER ORGANIZED NOR REPRESENTED WITHIN THE MILITARY. EXPRESSING THE BASIC BELIEF THAT BRAZILIAN-PORTUGUESE TIES FLOWING FROM THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WILL ENDURE, HE REVIEWED SOME SPECIFIC SIGNIFICANCES OF VARIOUS CONTINGENCIES: (1) IF THERE IS A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN PORTUGAL, THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE IN COMPETITION IN AFRICA; (2) A RIGHTIST COUP, PRESUMABLY ENTAILING SOME PUSH TOWARD THE STATUS QUO ANTE IN AFRICA, COULD BE A PROBLEM, AS BRAZIL HAS NO WISH TO SEE THAT OLD PROBLEM REVIVE; (3) IN THE CASE OF AN ELECTED SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OR OF A PROGRESSIVE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, RELATIONS WOULD BE GOOD, AND THE TWO COUNTRIES COULD EVEN COOPERATE IN AFRICA. BRAZIL DOES NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF A LUSO-AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN COMMUNITY, HE SAID, BECAUSE IT WAS CONCEIVED IN COLONIAL TERMS; BUT LANGUAGE WILL BE A FACTOR OF APPROXIMATION, AND BRAZIL WILL INEVITABLY HAVE A ROLE IN AFRICA.

2. AFTER USDEL REVIEWED U.S. PERCEPTIONS OF SITUATION, STRESSED U.S. DESIRE TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH BRAZIL ON THE MATTER, AND SUGGESTED BRAZIL COULD PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN AFRICA, HOLANDA CAVALCANTI SAID THEY WERE IN TOUCH WITH GUINEA-BISSAU'S LEADERS, WHO THEY THINK HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH, AND WITH MOZAMBIQUE'S LEADERS ALSO. IT IS DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH ANGOLA, HE SAID, CONFIDENTIAL

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BECAUSE IT IS STILL PORTUGUESE, SO THEY HAVE TO BE CAREFUL. THEY THINK PORTUGAL UNDERSTANDS, AND INDEED MARIO SOARES FACILITATES CONTACTS, BUT THEY DO NOT THINK IT IN BRAZIL'S INTEREST TO BE SPONSORED THERE BY PORTUGAL. HE ADDED THAT BECAUSE OF SHIPPING, BRAZIL HAS A SECURITY INTEREST IN ANGOLA. REGARDING BRAZILIAN ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA, HE SAID, THE AFRICANS ARE BASICALLY

NOT READY, NOT PREPARED TO RECEIVE AID. BRAZIL IS
ALREADY PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN GUINEA-BISSAU,
IS READY TO IN MOZAMBIQUE, AND IS ALSO COOPERATING
WITH MULTILATERAL PROGRAMS.
JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, AMITY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, PLANNING MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MorefiRH
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BRASIL08978
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740346-0975
From: BRASILIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974114/aaaaadad.tel
Line Count: 120
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: BRASILIA 8961
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MorefiRH
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 SEP 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10 SEP 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <26 DEC 2002 by MorefiRH>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLICY PLANNING CONSULTATIONS: PORTUGAL AND AFRICA
TAGS: PFOR, BR, XJ, PO, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005